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844 nomena gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolata gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

833 In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than 183 her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to 834 have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period [841] of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

753 A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. 684 During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

831 Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

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are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fantan the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Padakafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Padakafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lopada (who was subject to attacks of hyperexcitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

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593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
933 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

131 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[624] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[684] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

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IDEAS OF PROCREATION

842 The ideas of the physiology of procreation in Atimelang and their relationship to sexual morality deserve some detailed consideration. A child is thought to be formed from an accumulation of seminal and menstrual fluids in the mother—and menstrual fluid is considered the result of "things in a woman's breasts like eggs, which break and run down into her abdomen." For the first two months the child is believed 843 to remain in liquid form. It is during this period that the mother develops food preferences. In the third month pieces of flesh begin to solidify, and the mother feels dizzy and nauseated. In the fourth month the child's feet are formed, and a tiny placental cord appears.

At this time the fetus is said to resemble a banana blossom. This is also the period when the mother begins to feel movement. In the fifth month the fetus has solidified as far as its abdomen and begins to kick slowly and gently. In the sixth month the whole body is formed, but the ears, mouth, nose, and genitals are rudimentary. In the seventh month features begin to acquire flesh and prominence, and in the eighth month the child is complete and begins to jump about. In the ninth month even its nails are there, and "the child kicks until its mother is terribly sick. It kicks itself out of the mother's body; it tears its nest (placenta) and so has to come out." This is on the whole a remarkably accurate idea of fetal development.

842 Many different bits of behavior and attitudes dovetail with this idea 836 of procreation. One of these is that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. This in turn has its repercussion—in practice if not in theory—on sex morality. In theory, a young unmarried woman should be a virgin, although there is no idea of virginity tests at the time of marriage. However, should a husband shortly after marriage develop 753 feelings of nausea and a sense of discomfort just under the sternum, he will consult a seer. If the seer extracts a small piece of the fringe from a man's loincloth, this is considered a sign of the wife's premarital infidelity. The diagnosis of the difficulty is usually made by the patient. Nevertheless, the seer's role in fostering social conformity is not inconsiderable.

[753] Incidentally, infidelity, as previously noted, may affect children and 684 the marriage partner in this fashion at any time during the earlier years of marital adjustment. It is a nice expression of the hostility and yet of the basic bond among members of the biologic family. Also, a difficult [845] first birth is considered a sign of premarital unchastity. In one such case the tumukun was threatened with death by the irate husbands of a pair

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of sisters with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five years before, and prior to the women's marriages. Nothing of the affair had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands beat confessions out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fantan the Interpreter that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Atimelangers' ideas of conception give them in respect to their ideas of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Atimelangers, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to abandon them, even though they grant that sows will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to abandon formulations justifying congenial behavior and consistent with elaborated attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingma the Crazy Woman. Since Matingma's craziness was phrased mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingma was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the Kalais area with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a bland attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempt to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly considered to have been far more loose morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were adduced as evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingma was at least in her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She steals

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686 orings. The case of hard dealing in connection with a debt mentioned
627 on page 67, which led to the theft of a child and from there to the taking of a head, is an illustration of such a situation. Refusal to meet obligations may also lead to threats of burning the debtor's house. In about 1917 Padata the Leper set fire to Maliseni's house because Maliseni refused to pay him a moko worth seventeen dollars and fifty cents. The whole village burned to the ground, and in addition to the destruction of property through fire there was wholesale pilfering of chickens, corn, rice, and piglets in the course of the confusion. Perhaps one of the
[674] best indexes of human and property relationships in Atimelang is that such disasters as a fire are occasions for pilfering by the very people who come to assist. In still another case financial hard dealing and insult between brothers precipitated a murder. It is referred to in passing in both Tilapada's and Kolmani's autobiographies. For the light it throws on a number of facets of Atimelang temperament it is worth giving here in detail.

578 Langmai owed a debt to Fanpeni, his young unmarried cousin, and
627 Fanpeni came one evening to dun him. Langmai did not invite him
686 to enter the house and eat. He added insult to injury by referring to Fanpeni's unmarried status and by dilating on the pleasures he himself had in sleeping with his own wife. Fanpeni sulked all night on the verandah below the house. The next morning Langmai and his wife left the house without paying any attention to Fanpeni, who was by then in a murderous mood. The wife's younger sister stayed behind to care for the children. In the course of the morning she went off to fetch water. Fanpeni waylaid her and cut her throat. He then ran off to a village so distant that it was not considered practicable to follow him.

Berkama, an uncle of Fanpeni, feared retribution and left for a near-by village. The dead girl's kin sent word that if he stayed away they would consider it a sign that he approved of his nephew's act. Berkama feared this was a ruse to lure him back to Atimelang in order to murder him, but finally when his wife's powerful cousin offered to take him and his family under personal protection, he consented to return. The matter blew over for the time being.

684 Meanwhile the daughter of Berkama's sister married a man from
578 Manetati whose brother too was married to an Atimelang woman. This
627 other Atimelang woman ran away from her husband, lived with another man in the vicinity, and finally returned to her own village.

One day Berkama's sister, mother of the first girl married in Manetati, went to visit her daughter, accompanied by her nephew, the twelve-year-old son of Berkama. The deserted husband shot the child simply

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The deserted husband shot the child simply [672]
because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because 684
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's 578
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three 627
or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, 682
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He 578
then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac- 627
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to appease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, although I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of 182
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec- 152
ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incalculable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a 721
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by 726
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk. There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids before Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

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159 her. So they said I must buy the girl. They said I was to search for a bride-price and they would search for a dowry, and on a given day we would exchange bride-price for dowry. This is not our custom. This is a Ruaimelang custom. I said I had not slept with this girl. One morning I stood under their house and called out, "Come look at my penis. If it is wet, I have slept with your daughter. If it is dry, I have not slept with her." Karmating said, "My friend, do not open your loincloth and expose yourself." I was just joking. The girl and her mother came down,
159 and the girl lied. She said I had slept with her. They said I lied. So the
695 girl said we had better try the millet ordeal. When they had the millet boiling, they dropped a small round stone in it. I reached into the pot, found the stone, and pulled it out. I ran to the dance place and said to Lahatsla [God], "Indeed, Lahatsla, witness this. If I had slept with the woman, my hand would have been burned. If I had not slept with her, my hand would not have been burned. My hand is not burned. You people have accused me falsely." My hand was a little sore that day and I slept. But the next morning it was all right.

159 At this time chiefs had just been appointed and litigations had begun,
689 but I used the old way, *do buor kalukek*. [He inserted ethnographic details, which I have deleted. He is recounting a system of forcing high payment through shaming the persons who have insulted him.] So I went to Alomale and asked for his pig, which he was raising in partnership with a woman. It was worth a Hiekbui [6-rupiah moko]. She did not want to give it to me and they quarreled. Alomale wounded it, and then he followed me and ceremonially demanded payment. So I gave him my Maningmauk [10-rupiah moko] for the pig.

159 Then I went to Lanpada and Moapada, who had accused me. They
584 didn't want to pay me. They said the girl wanted to marry me and would carry a load of wood to my house next day. Six days went by before the girl came with the wood. She set it down far from the house and came to sit half on and half off the verandah. My mother called to her and told her to come up and cook, but she didn't want to. So I talked to her, and I discovered she did not have a big heart for me. She wanted to marry another man. So my mother gave her a squash and she went back to her own house. In six more days my aunt took the wood and carried it back to the girl's house. Then in six days I went again to
159 call for my debt. This time there was a litigation involving five of us
689 men who had slept in Malemai's house with this woman. Four of us who had not had intercourse had to pay fifty cents each. But Manislurks had tugged at her breasts and slept with her, so he had to pay a pig and a pine.

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159 This I never saw, but I have heard that when a man and woman sleep together before they are married, the woman's family and her husband quarrel, and the woman's family may cut off the man's penis and split the woman's vagina. If I bought a wife and my wife talked with another man [i.e., committed adultery], I would do as my grandfather did. If a man goes off and his wife stays behind and cooks for another man and they sleep together, I would do as my grandfather did.

159 684 This was my grandfather Momaug [really his father's grandfather] from Fungwati. His wife was Lonma. Momaug went to see friends in Tengate. While he was gone his wife pounded rice and cooked eggs. Her children saw her but they did not know what became of the rice and eggs. Their mother did not give them the food. This went on day after day. Then one day Momaug came home and asked for his wife. The children told him what their mother had been doing. So Momaug said he wanted to go back to Tengate. He went as far as Kolvi and from there dipped down into the ravine. He saw a cave that had been closed up, but the ground inside was fine and dusty, as though people had been walking there. He hid in the weeds above the cave. After a while he heard his wife singing a dance song. He saw her go into the cave. She took off her loincloth and lay down naked. She wanted the man to have intercourse with her before he ate. Then the man came, making a lot of noise. He took off his loincloth too and lay on her. Momaug drew his bow and made a rustling noise in the underbrush. The man raised himself and Momaug let an arrow fly. It went through the man's chest and came out his back. The woman yelled, "Ahuahu! Ahuahu! The other's penis has been withdrawn; your property is still here. Don't shoot." But he shot her too and the arrow went into her breast. They were both dead. He cut off the man's penis and slit the woman's genitals. He thrust the penis into her vagina. He then laid the bodies on each other and took a bamboo spear and pounded it with a stone through their two bodies. He went off and left them. He ran off to Abuiwati. [This horrible tale, which seemed to be traditional in Malelaka's family, might serve in part to explain his caution in relation to illicit intercourse.]

The man's family came to Momaug's brother Lakama to ask for a fine. The woman's family also came and said he should pay them. But Lakama said, "We bought that woman. She is ours. That man wanted to sleep with our wife, so it is his fault. The woman we had already bought; if we wished to kill her, that is our affair." So the woman's family didn't come any more for payment. The man's family also

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wanted to be paid, but Lakama said it was the man who had committed the fault and he was the one who should pay a fine. Then the man's family didn't ask to be paid any more.

There was a dance at Abuiwati, where Momaug was staying. To the dance came the son of a man Momaug had once killed in a quarrel over a deer. The son, who did not know Momaug by sight, gave a shout of challenge, saying, "Sapaliek! I am going to kill Momaug." Then Momaug said also, "Sapaliek! I am going to kill Momaug." The man thought Momaug was promising to help him. At dawn Momaug called the man and said, "Come to my house and my wife will cook for you and you can have tobacco. So the man went with him and ate. As he lay down to sleep, Momaug said to him, "Oh, here is a tube of tobacco for you. Put it under your head as a neck rest." When the man was asleep, Momaug told his wife and children to go as fast as they could to Rualwati. He told his wife to hold up her raincape as a signal when she reached a certain place, and then to wait for him there. When he saw her waving her raincape, he went in the house. The man was sleeping soundly, with his neck on the tube; so Momaug chopped off his head and, carrying it, followed his wife.

[Here Malelaka launched into the details of the financial exchanges associated with the sale of a human head. I asked for other castration themes.] When we were children, we boys and girls played together in the dust. If we fought a little, our boy friends would say to each other, "If your penis itches, cut it off." If girls fought, they would say to each other, "If your vagina itches, slit it."

When I was about five or six, two boys and two girls went off together to roast cassava. I came along and saw the two boys lying on the two girls. I went to Lupalaka [the older brother of one of the girls] and to Makanma [the father of the other girl] and told them what they were doing. The two older men said, "We shall beat those children half to death and cut the penes off the boys." They went to get them, but they had gone. They hunted but could not find them. The two girls cried and went to their mothers, but the two boys did not return even at night. The two elders said, "We shan't cut off their penes, but we shall tie the boys up."

Another time the same four went to the edge of the village and played together, drawing pictures on the ground. Lupalaka saw them and said, "Now I shall beat you." The boys ran away. He said he was going to cut off the boys' penes and slash the girls' vaginas. [The four children were about ten or twelve.]

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covered over the houses, pigs, and gardens until you couldn't see them any more. The rocks and sand all went rolling down into the ravine. All was good earth where the village had been. People decided to make new houses there, little field houses. They began building them. I saw Manifani of Dikimpe walking with a cane. He had been hit in the leg with stones as they rolled down from the mountain during the earthquake. Manimale [a distant kinsman] had a large wound on the side of his face and was being doctored in one of the houses. There were no stones or trees left; there was only empty earth. People were going right and left, shouting and calling. Someone shouted to me to come quickly and help with the house of Manimau. I started to jump up. The roosters were crowing and it was dawn. [Pause.]

[I asked what he wished to talk about.] My grandmother, Tilamau, slept with a man. Her husband followed the man down into the ravine, shot him, and cut off his penis. He hunted eels and crayfish and wrapped them all up in leaves along with the penis. He went home and put the bundle on the rat disk and went up into the house. He told his wife there was a bundle of eels and crayfish below and she should get them and cook them. She went down and opened the bundle and said, "Eh, evil spirit, evil spirit." He said to her, "Just eat it. Maybe it will be tasty." When father was telling me this, he said, "When wives slept with other men, your forebears cut off their penes and thrust them back into slit vaginas. Some cut them off, wrapped them in leaves, and gave them to their wives to eat. So your wives can't wander about at random. My wife cannot hunt lice in men's hair or eat their areca. If she does, my heart becomes evil and I shall do as my forebears did." He said, "Now my wives are dead, but you, my children, must watch your wives. When they go to the fields, they must go right through to their destination, not stop to talk and delouse or to chew areca. We do as our forebears did, and we follow our forebears in this too."

At that time Fuipeni [wife of a cousin of the informant] gave Lakafani money to play cards. Her husband was angry, and we all took our clubs and fought with Lakafani. Now we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me. [Question.] He was the one who told us these stories of our forebears and he was the one who taught us. But the very first time I heard these stories was from my grandfather, Mangma. He told of